

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ATHENS 2484

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR TU GR CY
SUBJECT: TURKISH DOUBTS ABOUT GREEK INTENTIONS

REF: A. ANKARA 1845; B. STATE 59036

1. AS WE ALL KNOW, TURKISH DOUBTS ABOUT GREEK INTENTIONS ARE FULLY RECIPROCATED BY GREEK DOUBTS ABOUT TURKISH INTENTIONS BOTH WITH RESPECT TO CYPRUS AND THE AEGEAN. IN THE PAST WEEK OR SO GREEK DOUBTS HAVE BEEN REINFORCED AS A RESULT OF THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE AIR AND NAVAL EXERCISES WHICH THE TURKS HAVE SCHEDULED IN THE AEGEAN MARCH 21-28. UNFORTUNATELY, DEEP-SEATED SUSPICIONS CONTINUE TO EXIST IN EACH COUNTRY TOWARD THE OTHER AND WE ARE NOT SURE THAT EMBASSY ANKARA CAN REASSURE THE TURKS ABOUT GREEK INTENTIONS ANYMORE THAN WE CAN REASSURE THE GREEKS ABOUT TURKISH INTENTIONS.

2. SPECIFICALLY ON CYPRUS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE GREEKS BELIEVE DEMIREL WANTS TO DRAG OUT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS AS LONG AS POSSIBLE AND CERTAINLY UNTIL AFTER
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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ATHENS 02484 181353Z

THE TURKISH ELECTIONS. MOREOVER, THE GREEKS MAINTAIN THE TURKS ARE ONLY USING THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS TO INFLUENCE THE CONGRESS TO PASS THE DCA. THUS, IT SEEMS TO US THAT THE LINE AMBASSADOR MACOMBER TOOK WITH GUVENDIREN, I.E. THAT WE DO NOT AGREE WITH THE TURKISH ASSESSMENT OF CARAMANLIS AND THAT IN ANY EVENT THE TURKS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO PRESENT A FORTHCOMING POSI-

TION REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE OTHER SIDE DOES, IS THE CORRECT ONE. THE POINT MIGHT ALSO BE MADE TO THE TURKS THAT CARAMANLIS HAS REPEATEDLY TOLD US THAT THE TURKS SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT HE IS THE BEST PERSON AS GREEK PRIME MINISTER TO REACH A SETTLEMENT, NOT ONLY ON CYPRUS BUT ON AEGEAN ISSUES AS WELL.

3. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE EVIDENCE CITED BY GUVENDIREN IS VERY CONVINCING IN SUPPORTING THE TURKISH CLAIM THAT PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS IS NOT SUPPORTING A SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. IT SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN THAT CARAMANLIS WAS THE GREEK PRIME MINISTER WHO PUSHED THROUGH THE ZURICH AND LONDON AGREEMENTS DESPITE MAKARIOS RELUCTANCE TO ACCEPT THEM. MOREOVER, WE BELIEVE THAT CARAMANLIS, LIKE MOST GREEKS, SEES CYPRUS AS A SECONDARY ISSUE (WITH GREEK-TURKISH PROBLEMS OVER THE AEGEAN BEING FAR MORE IMPORTANT) AND WOULD LIKE TO SEE IT SETTLED AND OUT OF THE WAY AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IN ANY CASE, WE ARE CONVINCED (AND AS FAR AS WE KNOW NOBODY HAS SERIOUSLY QUESTIONED THIS) THAT MAKARIOS AND NOT CARAMANLIS STILL OCCUPIES THE KEY ROLE AT THIS POINT ON THE GREEK-GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE BOTH WITH RESPECT TO THE PACE AND THE SUBSTANCE OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS. THE CLIFFORD MISSION AND SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS CERTAINLY SUPPORT THIS.

4. ONE OF THE "BASES" GUVENDIREN GAVE FOR THE TURKISH BELIEF ABOUT CARAMANLIS DESERVES SPECIAL COMMENT, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ATHENS 02484 181353Z

ESPECIALLY SINCE AMBASSADOR ESENBEL MADE THE SAME POINT TO COUNSELOR-DESIGNATE NIMETZ (REF B), AND THAT HAS TO DO WITH THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TASSOS PAPADOPOULOS AND PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS. WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO. PAPADOPOULOS' FATHER IN LAW, WHO IS A GREEK CYPRIOT NAMED LEVENTIS, WE BELIEVE, IS A LONG-TIME FRIEND OF CARAMANLIS. HE HAS APPARENTLY MADE AVAILABLE TO THE PRIME MINISTER AN APARTMENT IN AN APARTMENT HOUSE LEVENTIS OWNS. TO INFER FROM THIS, ESPECIALLY IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY OTHER EVIDENCE, THAT PAPADOPOULOS' ATTITUDE WITH RESPECT TO THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS NECESSARILY REFLECTS "PRESSURE" FROM THE PRIME MINISTER GOES A BIT FAR. WE MIGHT ALSO POINT OUT, WITH RESPECT TO THE FOURTH POINT IN GUVENDIREN'S LIST, THAT THE STORIES IN THE GREEK PRESS (WHICH APPEARED NOT ONLY IN NEWSPAPERS WHICH SUPPORT CARAMANLIS) ABOUT WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER TOLD CLARK CLIFFORD REGARDING THE AEGEAN AND TURKISH PROVOCATIONS WERE BASED ON REPORTS FROM THE US AND

DID NOT ORIGINATE HERE. THEY WERE NOT, THEREFORE,
NECESSARILY INSPIRED BY CARAMANLIS, AS IMPLIED BY GUVENDIREN.
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